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War Propaganda and the Romanian Churches in Transylvania (1914-1918)

Project leader
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Scientific Report:  
Concerning the implementation of the project  
during the period January-December 2016

The research activities carried out, during the year 2016, within the framework of the grant War Propaganda and the Romanian Churches of Transylvania (1914-1918), have specifically focused on continuing and furthering the tasks undertaken during the first three months of the project, in 2015. The whole team has endeavoured to reach the first objective initially proposed as part of the project for months 1-8 of the grant. More specifically, the grant team members aimed, in libraries in the country and abroad, to consult the main national and international bibliographical references relating to World War I and the propaganda promoted by the state during the years 1914-1918. Thus, we have managed to identify the latest interdisciplinary perspectives and the possibility of applying their interpretive paradigms to the historical realities of Transylvania.

In order to achieve this objective, several research and documentation stages have been conducted in Romania and abroad, within the framework of the project PN II-RU-TE-2014-4-0363.

In this respect, mention should be made of the research and documentation stage undertaken by Mirela Popa-Andrei and Diana Covaci in Cambridge, England, at the Cambridge University Library, in the period 1-10 August 2016. On this occasion, the team members identified, above all, the most recent studies, based on the latest methodologies, relating to topics such as propaganda, the home front, mobilization, etc. They consulted both seminal works on the subject of propaganda and communication within and between groups and organizations, as well as titles dedicated to World War I in the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Germany, France, Italy, Austria, etc., on topics such as women and their involvement in the Great War, children and the war, war-related letters and diaries, with the aim of identifying the state of the art in international historiography and the methodology that is currently used in this type of research.

Thus, Diana Covaci has identified the following seminal works on communication and the interferences that affect it, influencing the reception of the message transmitted from the


Another relevant work is *The Oxford Handbook of Propaganda Studies*, edited by Jonathan Auerbach and Russ Castronovo, Oxford University Press, 2015, in which several studies analyse the role of the mass media and of schools in distributing propaganda and disseminating its messages. Another work of reference in the study of propaganda is *Propaganda and Persuasion*, Garth S. Jowett & Victoria O’Donnell, 5th Edition, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, California, 2012. The study authored by M. L. Sanders and Philip M. Taylor, *British Propaganda during the First World War, 1914-18*, published by Macmillan Press LTD, London and Basingstoke, 1982, was consulted, too; this is a reference work in the specialized literature and it has influenced, for a long time, subsequent research relating to propaganda in World War I. Another work that was consulted was *World War I and Propaganda*, ed. by Troy Paddock, 2014.

Christoph T. Maier’s *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology. Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross*, Cambridge University Press, 2004, represents a model for analysing the propaganda made by the Church in the Middle Ages, in order to mobilize the population toward
supporting the wars of religion. As regards the representation of the war in films, mention should be made of the work *Official British Film Propaganda during The First World War*. Published in association with the Imperial War Museum, by Nicholas Reeves, Croom Helm, London-Sydney-Wolfeboro, New Hampshire, 1986 or Bernadette Kester’s *Film Front Weimar. Representations of the First World War in German films of the Weimar period (1919-1933)*, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, 2003, which is relevant because it analyses the development of German cinema in the years before World War I and its involvement in the war effort, as well as representations of the battlefront in films.


The visit to Cambridge provided these two researchers, Diana Covaci and Mirela Popa-Andrei, with the opportunity of consulting renowned databases with prestigious collections of journals and peer-reviewed journals, such as Sage Publications, Routledge, Taylor & Francis, Cambridge Core or Oxford Journals. The studies accessed on this occasion included Jordan Kiper, “Toward an Anthropology of War Propaganda”, *Political and Legal Anthropology Review*, vol. 38, Number 1, May 2015, pp. 129-146, which attests of the recovery of research devoted to the war propaganda in the aftermath of the genocide in Rwanda, shedding light on the role of propaganda in inciting mass violence. An equally interesting study is David Monger’s “Nothing Special? Propaganda and Women’s Roles in the Late First World War Britain”, *Women’s History Review*, 23: 4, 2014, 518-542, in which the author examines the role of women as subjects, objects and producers of propaganda in the United Kingdom during the years 1917-1918. A study that addresses the role of the media in disseminating the propaganda of war is the one written by Peter Putnis & Kerry McCallum, “Reuters, Propaganda-inspired News, and the Australian Press During the First World War”, *Media History*, 19:3, 284-304.

Also, during the period of 6-12 November 2016, another member of the team grant, PhD student Tiberiu Iordan, conducted a research stage in Berlin, Germany. The main research themes pursued by the PhD student included propaganda and the Church during World War I, the influence exerted by the representatives of the various religious groups on the soldiers or the impact of propaganda on those who did not participate directly in the war, especially women and children, who had to bear the brunt of the war on their own front, at home. Also, using images and films made during that time, the research has sought to capture the way in which propaganda operated and influenced people, both those on the battlefront and those on the homefront. For this purpose, the PhD student researched a part of the existing archives at the Bundesarchiv
Thus, in connection with the topic concerning the research of the influence exerted by the churches and the role they played in the war propaganda, there have been identified a series of works, as exemplified below. For instance, in relation to the Evangelical Church, there are a number of archival materials, such as those from the Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland: Materialsammlung Erster Weltkrieg - Die Kirchen und der Erste Weltkrieg (here can be found a series of articles and papers about the role of the Church in the mobilization from the start of the war and the manner in which the various churches addressed the spiritual and moral issues they detected among the people at the start of the war). We could mention the following titles: Dieter Beese, Kirche im Krieg. Der 1. Weltkrieg als europäische Christentumspraxis., Vortrag bei der Tagung des deutsch-belgischen Bruderrats, 2013; Wolf-Dieter Steinmann, Lucie Panzer: Für Gott und Vaterland – Die Evangelische Kirche und der 1. Weltkrieg. Deutschland Kultur, 2014; Sebastian Kranich: Mit Gott in den Krieg, in: EKD-Magazin”Reformation und Politik”; Martin Greschat: Der Erste Weltkrieg und die Christenheit.Ein globaler Überblick., Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 2014.

In terms of research conducted in the archival funds useful for the identification of data about propaganda and the staff involved in implementing and supporting it, a series of works that approach the cases of poets and writers or journalists and artists of all kinds have been identified, such as, for instance: Ulrike Oppelt, Film und Propaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg. Propaganda als Medienrealität im Aktualitäten- und Dokumentarfilm, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 2002; Anne Schmidt, Belehrung–Propaganda–Vertrauensarbeit. Zum Wandel amtlicher Kommunikationspolitik in Deutschland 1914-1918, Klartext Verlag, Essen, 2006; Jürgen u. Wolfgang von Ungern-Sternberg, Der Aufruf “An die Kulturwelt!” Das Manifest der 93 und die Anfänge der Kriegspropaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 1996; Kurt Flasch, Die geistige Mobilmachung.Die deutschen Intellektuellen und der Erste Weltkrieg. Ein Versuch, Alexander Fest Verlag, Berlin, 2000. The studies focusing on the influence of war and propaganda, as well as the impact of these on women’s lives during the period studied, included also: Stefan Bajohr, Die Hälfte der Fabrik. Geschichte der Frauenarbeit in Deutschland 1914-1945, Verlag Arbeiterbewegung u. Gesellschaftswiss, Marburg 1979; Ute Daniel, Arbeiterfrauen in der Kriegsgesellschaft. Beruf, Familie und Politik im Ersten Weltkrieg, Grin Verlag,
Research from the point of view of the images taken and the films made during that period and preserved in the above-mentioned film archives has led to the identification of archival sources that may be used for the optimal completion of the documentary film that will be made at the end of the project.

According to the second objective of our project, in parallel with the bibliographical documentation activity, we have also carried out the task of identifying and investigating the sources existing in the country and abroad relating to World War I and the official state propaganda in Transylvania, conducted through the two Churches and the Romanian clergy.

Thus, one of the research directions undertaken consists in the analysis of the written press of the time. As a result, there have been consulted the reviews *Unirea*, *Cultura Creștină*, *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, and *Cosânzeana*, primarily Greek-Catholic publications during the years of World War I (Diana Covaci, Mirela Popa-Andrei). During the consultation of several issues relevant to the topic studied, there were extracted text fragments, which were then posted on the Facebook page of the project (Diana Covaci). This represented the component of dissemination to the general and specialized public, or to consumers of historical information, news or writings from the years of World War I.

The major direction was represented by archival research, for consulting the primary sources of information on World War I and the way in which this event was experienced by the two churches of the Romanians in Transylvania: The Romanian Greek-Catholic Church and the Romanian Orthodox Church, and especially how and to what extent the two churches were involved in transmitting the propaganda messages from the Hungarian Government in Budapest to the Romanian population of Transylvania. The team members also investigated whether this network for the dissemination of the propaganda message worked to attain its intended goal: mobilizing the civilian population to support the war effort.

All the researchers included in the grant became involved in researching the archives with a view to reaching the scientific objectives proposed for the current year. There were consulted, in particular, several county branches of the National Archives, but also archival funds preserved in the Viennese Archives. Research in the Viennese archives targeted a double
direction of analysis: identifying the ecclesiastical orders and regulations issued in 1914-1918, and analyzing the responses from the parishes and archpresbyteriates in the jurisdiction of the diocese investigated here.

Thus, some of the most important primary sources have been identified, accessed and photocopied by Diana Covaci, Mirela Popa-Andrei and Ana Victoria Sima after several research stages at the National Archives, the Alba, Bistrița, Sibiu and Cluj-Napoca County Branches.

One of the main directions of research promoted by Ana Sima and Diana Covaci has envisaged retrieving the group of diocesan circulars issued during the war years, 1914-1918, by the two Romanian churches; Ana Sima has identified the circulars issued by the Greek-Catholic Diocese of Gherla, preserved in the Cluj County Branch, while Diana Covaci has identified the metropolitan circulars issued by the Cabinet of Blaj, which are today largely in the custody of the National Archives in Alba Iulia.

Ana Victoria Sima has consulted, throughout this research year, the archival funds of the Greek-Catholic Diocese of Cluj-Gherla and of the Greek-Catholic Vicariate of Maramureș, during the years of the Great War. The results of this research have led to the identification, photographing and transcription of the diocesan and vicarial circulars issued by the two ecclesiastical authorities during the years of World War I.

For the area of the Greek-Catholic Archdiocese of Blaj and Alba Iulia, they have been identified in two ways: first, research was carried out in the Library Fund of the Alba Archives, for the files that included the Circulars; subsequently, various parish funds were investigated, as there can be found their almost complete collection, since the church’s regulations required preserving the circulars in the parish library. Archival research also took into account the identification of the circulars issued by the Metropolitan See in Sibiu. In this sense, the collections of documents from the parish funds of Orthodox communities have been inventoried. The parish and archpresbyterial funds we have consulted included: Aiudul de Sus Greek-Catholic Parish, Greek-Catholic Parish. Biia, Cetatea de Baltă Greek-Catholic Parish, Deal Orthodox Parish, Alba Iulia Greek-Catholic Archpresbyteriate - Inventoried documents, Blaj Greek-Catholic Archpresbyteriate - Inventoried documents or Alba Orthodox Archpresbyteriate - Inventoried documents

At the Archives in Bistrița, Mirela Popa-Andrei și Diana Covaci consulted funds such as the Vicariate of Rodna, the Greek-Catholic Archpresbyteriate, Bistrița - Feldru Greek-Catholic
Parish Office - Ilva Mare Greek-Catholic Parish Office, Năsăud Orthodox Parish Office, Administration of the Năsăud Border Guard Funds, Năsăud Town Hall. In these funds there were identified and then photocopied documents that are relevant to the theme of our project, such as diocesan and vicarial circulars, vicarial and parish reports including the answers of the parishes to the diocesan circulars urging them, on behalf of the government, to make cash or product donations to support the war effort, or contributions to the state loans; various school documents, etc.

The responses of these different parishes are relevant for studying the parish or archpresbyterial funds mentioned above. However, very relevant information for the situation at the level of larger administrative units, across the entire Romanian Greek-Catholic Diocese of Blaj, was collected from the most important fund at the Romanian Greek-Catholic Metropolitan See of Alba Iulia and Făgăraș. The fund General Registry. Recorded Documents is also included here: it preserves the files that include the answers given by the communities and the archpresbyteriates to the various requests of the ecclesiastical authorities or the state. They have enabled us to reconstruct the communication channels between the centre and periphery during the war years, indicating what were the communication problems that affected the mobilization of the state’s resources in those times of war.

Scientific researcher III Dr. Mirela Popa-Andrei and research assistant Teodora-Alexandra Mihalache, PhD student, conducted a research stage at the Sibiu County Branch of the National Archives in the period 13-15.04.2016. During this stage, Mirela Popa-Andrei consulted several archival funds, one of which has a high potential for the project: the Astra Fund and the Fascicle documents fund, in which she identified an interesting war diary written by a soldier/orderly, entitled Jurnale zilnice ale lui Nicolae Avram (The Journal of Nicolae Avram), whose content has been valorised in a paper delivered at a conference and in a study. Teodora-Alexandra Mihalache accessed documents from the Brukenthal Collection and the fund entitled the Saxon Society for the Maintenance of Graves.

Ionela Zaharia researched the Archives of the First Romanian School in Șcheii Brașovului, the memoirs of Virgia Nistor, which capture life on the homefront, in the city of Brașov, from the perspective of a woman who was a volunteer for the Red Cross. There are interesting reports on the presence of wounded soldiers in town, relations with military commanders, with Archpriest Vasile Saftu, etc. There also appear details concerning the
archpriest’s sermons, which “naturally” contained pious words about the emperor and an indication that the war was targeted at the “liberation of nations.” Other information: Romania’s entry into the war, the retreat, the refugees’ life in Transylvania, etc. Another fund identified by Ionela Zaharia at the Brașov County Branch of the National Archives is the Luana Popa Personal Fund, comprising memoirs from the Hungarian dungeons Romul Cristolovean. The memoirs provide details about the treatment applied by the Austro-Hungarian authorities to the Transylvanian Romanians arrested as spies or agitators, among which there were also several priests. The attitude of the Austro-Hungarian authorities, the treatments applied, influenced the actions of the priests and hierarchs of the two Romanian Churches in Transylvania.

The archival research of the internal sources was supplemented with research on the archival units in Vienna. Thus, Ionela Zaharia and Teodora-Alexandra Mihalache conducted a research stage in Vienna at the beginning of November last year, when they consulted the following collections of funds within the Department of War Archives (Kriegsarchivarhiv):

- Zentralstellen (Kriegsministerium fund);
- Feldakten (Armeoberkommando fund);
- Mittel-Behörde (Apostolisches Feldvikariat fund);
- Territorialkommanden (General-, Korps- und Militärkommando Befehliefund).

In the department of Administration Archives (Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv) they consulted the Unterricht und Kultus collection (Fund Neuer Kultus / Akatholischer Kultus).

Among the documents identified in the Kriegsarchivarhiv, those that are particularly worthy of attention include the complaints made by various persons (military or civilian) and addressed to the Ministry of War, in relation to the conduct of individuals within the army; a few complaints from Sibiu, Satu Mare, Arad and Timișoara in connection with the ill-treatment administered by the military authorities, food supply problems, or the baptism of some Jews. They indicate the militarization of the internal front and the fact that some of the abuses were reported and came to be known in Vienna. Other categories of documents include Latin instructions sent to the military Catholic clergy, the decorations bestowed on the military clergy, flyers distributed on the front with explicitly patriotic messages, pastoral letters written by the apostolic vicar, pamphlets directed at children who could speak German, postcards sanctioned by the authorities to be distributed among the soldiers (in the fund of the Army’s Apostolic Vicariate), etc.
All the data accumulated during the stages of research and documentation have been used for the dissemination of information related to this project. Thus, all the team members participated in numerous conferences in the country and abroad (see below the grant members’ participations in national and international conferences). They have also published several studies, of which 2 are ISI, 4 are BDI and another 4 articles have been published in the volumes of conference proceedings or in journals indexed CNCSIS B+, as follows:

**ISI articles:**


**BDI articles:**


Diana Covaci, “Conexiuni: O perspectivă istorică asupra intermediarii între grupuri”, to be published in Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Bariţiu din Cluj”, Series Historica, volume LV, Supliment, 2016, ISSN 2344-2093, in press. This study is BDI since the journal is indexed in CEEOL and ERIH +.


**Other articles and studies:**


All the grant members have participated in internal and international conferences on topics related to the research project, thus contributing to the dissemination of their research results and to verifying the preliminary findings arising from their activities of research and documentation so far. Accordingly, the total number of participations in conferences is 15, of which are 9 are in national and 6 in international conferences, as follows:
International conferences:


5. Ionela Zaharia participated in the 40th Annual Conference of IARCEES (**Irish Association for Russian, Central and East European Studies**), entitled: **Individuals and Institutions in Europe and Eurasia**, 6 - 8.05.2016, Maynooth, Irlanda, where she delivered a paper entitled: *Military Chaplains and Political Identity - Habsburg Romanian Military Chaplains.*

National conferences:

Associate Professor Dr. Ana Victoria Sima organized within the National Congress of Romanian Historians (CNIR), held in Cluj-Napoca, Romania, from 25 to 28 August 2016, a section entitled: Propaganda, mobilization and the involvement of the population in World War I. In this section, our project team members delivered several presentations, based on the bibliographical information and archival sources identified during their stages of documentation-research, carried out this year and presented in the pages above.

a) Ana Victoria Sima delivered the paper: Războiul în cuvinte. Corespondența românilor transilvăneni în timpul Marelui Război

b) Mirela Popa-Andrei, delivered the paper entitled: Marele Război reflectat în Jurnale de front românești (1914-1916),

c) Diana Covaci, delivered the paper entitled: Mobilizarea populației prin Biserică pentru susținerea războiului: un studiu de comunicare.

d) Ionela Zaharia, delivered the paper entitled: Propaganda de război, ASTRA și clerul militar în Marele Război,

e) Teodora-Alexandra Mihalache, delivered the paper entitled: “O mobilizare a sufletului”: acțiuni de susținere a efortului de război în Brașovul anului 1916”

f) Tiberiu Iordan, delivered the paper entitled: În tranșee cu aparatul de filmat

Also within the CNIR, Diana Covaci also presented two papers in two other sections. The paper “Minorități” ale minorităților: o posibilă direcție de cercetare a elitelor moderne” was presented in the Section “Elitele epocii moderne în cercetarea românească” “Oportunități de angajare”: trasee de carieră ecleziastică la jumătatea secolului al XIX-lea, Section “Elitele ecleziastice din spațiul românesc și rolul lor politic (sec. XVIII-1914)”, while Mirela Popa-Andrei presented the paper entitled Aspecte privind originea socială a clerului român greco-catolic (1853-1918). Studiu de caz: dinastiiile preoțești – mit sau realitate istorică? in the Section “Elitele ecleziastice din spațiul românesc și rolul lor politic (sec. XVIII-1914)”.

It may therefore be noticed that the fourth objective of the project has been carried out, the year in question being characterized by a good dissemination of the research findings regarding the role of the two Romanian Churches in conveying the official state propaganda to the believers.
Other achievements:

Ana Victoria Sima, Doctoral School course, during the academic year 2016-2017, entitled Propaganda and population during World War I, the Doctoral School: Population Studies and the History of Minorities, the Faculty of History and Philosophy, UBB.


Research assistant Ionela Zaharia completed her doctoral studies on 10.06.2016, when she defended her PhD thesis, entitled: The Military Clergy of Austria-Hungary during the Great War, supervised initially by Prof. Univ. Dr. Nicolae Bocșan and then by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ana Victoria Sima.

The activity of disseminating the research findings obtained in this project has been carried out also on the Facebook page of the project, which can be accessed at https://www.facebook.com/Propaganda-de-r%C4%83zboi-%C8%99i-bisericile-rom%C3%A2ne%C8%99ti-din-Transilvania-1914-1918-1682543465314973, the responsibility for maintaining it up-to-date belonging to Diana Covaci. Throughout the year 2016, the materials selected and posted on the Facebook page included various war-related news from the years 1914-1916, extracted from religious books dedicated to the soldiers on the front, news about rationalizations, collections, or about the manner of spending the religious holidays on the front. The Facebook page was also useful for popularizing the project director’s organization, as part of the National Congress of Romanian Historians (25-28 August 2016), of a specific section devoted to the war propaganda during the years 1914-1918 and the participation of the entire project team with papers in this section.

In the end, we may conclude that all the scientific objectives that were initially set for the year 2016 have been achieved and even exceeded, as attested by tangible results, such as the publication of 2 ISI articles and 4 BDI articles, followed by 6 other studies published in volumes of studies or in non-indexed journals, as well as by numerous participations in conferences: 6
international conferences and 9 national conferences, plus other types of activities, as this report has clearly outlined.